000 **Seventeenth Chapter, in which it is told how the Spaniards took Moctezuma with them as they went into the great palace; and what there happened.**

And when they had gone on to reach and enter the palace, forthwith they seized Moctezuma and kept him under guard,[1] never letting him from their sight, and with him Itzquauhtzin.[2] But the others only ran away.

And when this had come to pass, then the guns shot off. All flew into disorder, ran off to one side, melted from view [as the guns] flashed and spouted sparks.[3] All were as if stricken, drunk, as if all had looked upon [evil]. Fear reigned, as if everyone had lost heart. Even before it grew dark, all huddled in frightened, awed, and thunderstruck groups. All slept in terror.

And when dawn broke, all the things which [the Spaniards] needed were proclaimed [by the crier]: white tortillas, roasted birds, eggs, fresh water, wood — wood for burning, charcoal; earthen vessels — polished ones, water jars small and large, skillets, all [manner of] earthen vessels. [For] in truth [so] Moctezuma had commanded.

And when he summoned the noblemen, they defied him. They were wroth; they would not come to him; they would not go there. He was not listened to. But although not left at his feet,[4] all was given that [the Spaniards] needed — food, drink, chocolate, and fodder for deer.

652 And when [the Spaniards] were settled, they thereupon inquired of Moctezuma as to all the treasure of the city — the devices, the shields. Much did they tax him; with great zeal they demanded gold. And Moctezuma, upon this, proceeded to lead the Spaniards, who went surrounding and crowding about him as he went among them. He went at their head; they advanced with hands laid upon him, taking hold of him. And when they had ar-

Injc caxtolli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles quivicatiaque Motecuçoma injc calaqujto vei tecpã: yoan in tlein vmpa mochiuh.

Auh in oacito tecpan, in ocalaqujto: çan njman vel quitzizqujque, vel qujxpixtinenca, amo connjcaoaia in Motecuçoma, in nehoan Itzquauhtzin: auh in oc cequjntin çan oalquizque.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ie uevetz in in tlequjquiztli, iuhquin tlayxneliuj, avic viioa, tlaixmoiaoa, tlachichitoca, iuhquin tlacica, çan oqu juhquin netequipachoio, iuhquin nenaoacavilo, iuhquin tlen mach onnettitilo, mauiztli oonoc, iuhquin mochi tlacatl quitollo yiollo: çanoc iuh onmac, nemamauhtilotoc neihiçavilotoc, necujcujtiuechotoc, necochmamauhtilotoc.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic motzatzilia in jxquich intech monequj. in iztac tlaxcalli, totollaleoatzalli, totolteti, chipaoac atl, in quauitl, in tlatlatilquauitl, in tecolli, in apaztli, in petzcaxitl, in apilloli, in tzotzocolli, in tlatzoconjlcaxitl, in ie ixquich in çequjtlatqujtl: iehoatl uel tlanaoatica in Motecuçomatzin.

Auh in quinoalnotzaia pipilti, aocmo quitlacamatia, ça quallanj, aocmo iujc quiça, aocmo ivic quiça, aocmo iujc onuj, aocmo mocaquj: auh tel amo iccic caoalo, maco in ixquich itech monequj in qualonj, in joalonj, ioan in atl, in maçatlaĝlli.

Auh in no uel motlalique: njmã ie ic quintemolia in Motecuçomatzin in ixquich in jtztõ in altepetl, in tlaujztli, in chimalli, cenca quimatataquilia, cẽca quimauiztemoa in teucujtlatl. Auh in Motecuçomatzin: njman ie ic quinjacantiuh in Españoles, colelhujtiuj, quitepeujtiuj, innepantla icatiuh, tlaiacac icatiuh, quitzitzizquiznuj, caantiuj. Auh in onacique in tlatlatilcali: itocaiocan, teucalco: njman ie ic oallaqujztilo in ixquich in petlacetl, in quetzalapane-

1. Cervantes de Salazar, in *Crónica de Nueva España* (México: Tipleas Gráficas del Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, 1936), II, Chapter XXVIIIqqq, develops this narrative with much color and detail.

2. Governor of Tlacopan (corresponding Spanish text).

3. See Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 494, n. 1.

4. Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 495) reads the phrase as *ceca le ciscanado* — he was not therefore ignored.

●[633]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.[272] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[272] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Atzacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," etc., p. 134). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli" — "barrio" or localised kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 498) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Michuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 103 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpanecs, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 230) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 483), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-

X 787 And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance.

[553] And[4] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[5]

●[633] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

231 And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

805 And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

610 All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in—

auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtoaia: mocujtonoz, ipal iez, qujtlamauiçalhuja in totecujo: aço tecoaz, tealtiz, aço quexquipa cujcujcaz teixotiz: uh inic qujtocamacaia, qujn no ipan qujmattiuja in naoacatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicvenquaqualiaia in pipaltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapocaian tlatoque, altepeme.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jzquichtin chichime, qujnquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjtique.

Auh in qujtoqujlia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quauhtli, chicome cozcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujauitl, matlactloce xuchitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jzquijtetl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpā tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ie omomelauh mjieccan vel omonenextī: auh in jquac onquiz in njman ic oalmoquetza.

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4. Di: *and is translated.*

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "También tenían esta ceremonia: que en este signo, los que criaban los perrillos, que hicieron dueño, los almagraban los cabezas."

7. *Tezpan: tezpatl is* [illegible]